cedure within the lodge for the purpose of diagnosing and treating sickness.

The term applied to the sweat house healer is one meaning a "sweat doctor." He always performs within the lodge when asked to examine or treat a patient. It is interesting to note that my informant, Wi·tapanóxwe, and Charley Elkhair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delaware, claim the distinction of being the only men among the Oklahoma Delaware who have supernatural sanction to perform in this capacity. The former believes that he is privileged to assume the role which his people consider appropriate only for men whose mind and character have been strengthened by years of experience but that up to the present time (1930) he has not attempted it. The powerful shamans[29] of an earlier period were said to have been able to perform miraculous feats and effect marvelous cures without the aid of the sweat lodge although it was frequently employed in their practices.

Both of the above types of medicinemen receive their power from the Creator through dream-visions, the spiritual visitation occurring usually just before sunrise or sunset. The vision is accompanied by a medicine song which becomes the personal property of the healer, to be sung during performances in the sweat lodge. It is said that women rarely became sweat doctors. Wi·tapanóxwe, since his vision and medicine song were received just before sunrise, considers that as the time of day during which he would be most successful in curing activities within the sweat lodge. Those who received their power at sunset accordingly regarded that as the most suitable time for performances.

Contrary to the herbalist's custom of not accepting gifts or payment for his services, the sweat doctor expects payment from those who approach him for consultation and treatment. In former times trader's trinkets, etc., and somewhat later, horses, blankets, and money were given by those requiring his services.

The construction and equipment of the sweat lodge are matters of considerable importance in this particular type of curing. It is built of twelve poles which represent the twelve levels of heaven (Speck, 1931, p. 74) and according to native belief, lead to the abode of the Creator. For this purpose saplings chosen for their flexibility, are cut

[29] In Delaware the term used means "powerful man," "man who can heal," and refers to a type of shaman, called *medeu* by the Delaware of an earlier period, especially concerned with curing. Among the Chippewa (Densmore, 1929, pp. 86-97) the *mide* were the leaders of the *mide'wiwin* or Grand Medicine Society. See also Hodge, 1912, p. 523.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear. An account of the worship of the Creator will be given later in connection with the description of the Annual Ceremony. The Minsi had similar beliefs, but the current name for the Great Spirit in that dialect today is *Pa''tŭmawas*, interpreted "He who is petitioned," or *Kĕ''tanito'-wĕt*, "Great Spirit."

It has been frequently stated that the concept of a supreme being or chief of the gods was not known among the American tribes in precolonial times, and that the "Great Spirit" concept, now widely distributed among the Indians, is entirely the result of missionary teaching. This seems to have been the case in some instances, but it is a mistake to assume such a broad statement as a general rule, on *a priori* grounds. To the

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

this belief, or have included it loosely under the worship of "gods" representing the elements.

776
821.

KEEPERS OF THE HEAVENS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that each of the twelve heavens, in the highest of which lives the Great Spirit, is presided over by a *mani'to* who serves as a messenger to repeat the prayers of men until they reach the ear of the Creator. They are represented by the carved faces upon the posts inside the temple, and are mentioned in the ritual of the Annual Ceremony. I can find no mention of them in early accounts of the Lenape, however, unless the twelve gods mentioned by Loskiel,[24] most of whom have already been spoken of in this chapter, may represent the same concept. The Lenape today speak of these as being related to the Living Solid Face, who will now claim our attention.

776
[772]
[532]

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

DUALOGY OF SYMBOLISM IN THE BIG HOUSE RITE

In my former study of the Big House Ceremony I did not become aware of the significance that seemed attached to the fact that upon the center-post of the structure there were two faces carved on opposite sides, one facing the east, the other the west, and that also there were two fires, one on the east, the other on the west side of the center-post. These are evident symbols of duality and it becomes plausible to suspect, as did Dr. P. W. Schmidt, that the symbolism of duality in these features of the Big House might refer to sun and moon worship. Dr. Schmidt, in correspondence with me, also suggests that the two fires may represent the luminaries, and the double image representations on the center post a dual personality vested in the Supreme Being idea which in turn he proposes may be a fusion of the male and female concepts as tribal progenitors (Stammeselternpaar). We lack, however, supporting native testimony for the establishment of Dr. Schmidt's elucidation of a historical background for these mysterious symbols so far as the Delawares are specifically concerned.[7]

I was unable to take up this question with Delaware informants before the publication of my earlier study but since that time I have had an opportunity to discuss the point with Anderson. While he was unable to speak in positive terms of the dual symbolism of the two fires, two center-post images, two doors of the Big House, two paints, red and black, on the carved images, he offered a rationalization in attempting to explain the matter. This I consider extremely well worth reproducing as an example of Delaware explanatory thought on a point concerning which tradition in the tribe is not definite enough to be canonical. Our own speculation on the matter, when such fails to coincide with speculative attempts of the natives who themselves *profess* the principles of the religion in question, can hardly be considered as having equal weight with theirs.

[7] See also Dr. P. W. Schmidt, "High Gods in North America, Oxford, 1933," for a scholar's insight into the comparative history of Algonkian concepts of deity and religious systems, summarizing part of Vol. 5 of his earlier monumental contribution; Die Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

I would accordingly present Anderson's explanation of the dual principle in Delaware ritual as being connected with the division of sex in the realm of life. Anderson pointed out that the balancing of functions between the male and female elements of human society was implied in the Delaware ritual performance. He began by referring to the requirement that there be an equal number of male and female attendants in service during the ceremony; that the duties of the females should coincide with and supplement those of the males; that one fire, theoretically, was in charge of the female attendants and represented their contribution to the worship, the other the males; that a similar division extended through the Big House, one door and the image on the center-post facing that door "belonging" to the men, the other, the opposite to women. He also pointed out in explaining the principle of dualism that when the attendants swept the dancing path encircling the two fires after each dance performance to purify it, with the turkey wing fans, a male attendant starts sweeping from the west door toward the east door and a female from the east door to the west door on the opposite side; that when the east door is reached by the male attendant sweeper and the west door by the female attendant sweeper, each places the fan-sweeper in a crevice in the logs above the door where he or she stops. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the next dance when the sweeping is repeated for the same purpose of purification, the male attendant sweeps his half of the dance path with the fan previously used by the female and leaves this in the logs above the door on her side. She does the same with the fan left over her door by the male attendant the time before. Thus the two fans are relayed by men and women attendants successively on opposite sides of the Big House after each dance. One of the fans, moreover, is associated with male attendants, the other with the female. Anderson used this illustration to bring out his idea as implied from the teaching of the old people that while there was no definite doctrine of sexual duality taught in the Big House, that the same might be implied as a hypothesis. He pointed out another fact in demonstrating this likelihood which is

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

clearly evident on the surface, namely that the two forked drum sticks, those of highly ceremonial significance used only from the ninth night of the ceremony to the end, bear carvings of human heads, a male on one, a female on the other, the latter having also the representation of female breasts below the face. This leaves no doubt of latent trend of thought in the basic symbolism of duality based upon sex in Delaware. The two drum sticks in question are definitely designated male and female.

I might mention also another piece of native reasoning along the same line in explanation of the black and red half-painting which is so characteristic of Delaware sacred coloring. It has been assumed and with good reason that these colors represent the states of life and death, respectively red and black. I would not discard this theory since it is one present in the minds of some Delawares, but would rather find an explanation for the confusion in idea of the black and red symbols as an overlapping of several vaguely fused symbolisms; one designating sex, the other life and death. The whole question, as it now stands, amounts to a problem of symbol interpretation in Delaware religion in which the supposition of sexual duality must be given primary consideration.

Reverting for a moment to Anderson's explanation of the two fire, two door, two center-post image peculiarity in the Big House arrangement, it should not be inferred that he intended to point out that these were exclusively or definitely sexual segregations or that they reflected duality in the conception of deity. He also wished especially to avoid fixing the idea that the two center-post images represented the Creator. He tried to make clear that the two branches of service represented by the men and women worshippers were made convenient and kept separate in accordance with the division into male and female functions by the dual arrangements just noted.

The whole question of sex differentiation in Delaware religion and natural thought is one which may have to be worked out through evidences beneath the surface, perhaps in almost forgotten but deeply significant principles of thought,

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

since it is only hinted at in deliberate explanation by the people of today, though preserved in the equipment and furnishings of their worship.

An arrangement of symbols and functions associated with sex in Delaware thought could be shown as follows.

MALE	FEMALE
ABSTRACT ASSOCIATIONS	
The color red	The color black
life	death (the beyond)
east	west
day	night
right-hand side	left-hand side
BIG HOUSE ASSOCIATIONS	
East half	West half [6]
east door	west door
east fire	west fire
image of Great Spirit on east side of center post	image of Great Spirit on west side of center post
FUNCTIONS AND PRIVILEGES	
Balanced participation in all rites and dances	
Balanced ritual and dance leadership (approximate)	
Balanced sponsorship of ceremonies	
Balanced performance of offices as "attendants" (a'chsa)	
Balanced dance-path sweeping	
Balanced reception of "payment" (sacrifice) of wampum for ceremonial services	
Balanced control of ceremonial equipment in east and west sides of Big House	
Conducting ceremonial hunt (symbol of animal economy as male sphere)	Preparing ceremonial foods (symbol of plant economy as female sphere)
Singing and praying aloud	Silent supplication
Giving ceremonial prayer-call	Occasionally giving prayer-call
Controling harvest rite (Corn Harvest Ceremony)	
Dancing on outside of dance column in Big House (inside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)	Dancing on inside of dance column in Big House (outside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)
Formal recitation of visions	Recitation allowed only on last day of Big House Ceremony
Use of musical instruments (hide-drum and rattle)	
Moral "purity" during ceremonial periods	Moral and catamenial "purity" during ceremonial periods

[6] Dichotomy of sex in the seating arrangements during ceremonies in the Big House is subordinated to the classified grouping of the ceremonial divisions, Turkey, Wolf, Tortoise, and secondarily to which of the three groups is sponsoring the celebration.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under 764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides 775 the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night before the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in ● 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takǫk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character ǫ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

771 114 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 346 778 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pəle", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved free images, the revereneed mosi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as kəthak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the man-i't-u of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. Of the man-i't-u or "spirit-forces," both specific and general, more will be said later.

But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path,[1] the symbol of the transit of life, which is met with in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man wends his way to the western door where all ends.[2] Its correspondent exists I assume in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm.[3] As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they "push something along," meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread.[4] Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony as will be explained in note III in the appendix.

The ceremony symbolizes the transit of the year period. Its twelve nights of performance represent the figure of the twelve moons, its progress from east to west the course of the sun, its varied symbolical rites the events in the passage of life's orbit from beginning to end.

We learn that the White Path is "our Father's, the Great Spirit's road," upon it human life proceeds in its course, which grand movement is symbolized by the dancers as they tread the "White Path" of the "Big House." By another allegory we have the clearing away of impediments from its surface in the intervals between the dances by the efforts of the Attendants who use the wing feathers of "pure" birds, such as the eagle, with which the "Path" is brushed clean. Here

[1] We'li-ap-ale-xing, "Good or Beautiful White Path." Also weslau'si-t motoma'k-an, "Righteous Path."

[2] The Delaware, like his Christian brother, admits that it is hard for feeble man to walk in this path without erring. The concept has deep possibilities for discussion from the point of view of ethics and life as the pagan sees them.

[3] The symbolical association between the "White Path" and the Milky Way is not definitely proved by Delaware information. By some strange circumstances it seems, the Delawares can not furnish the native name of the Milky Way. Persistent inquiry among the older men both at Dewey and at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by V. M. Petrullo have failed to procure it, likewise correspondence with Joe Washington and J. A. Parks, prominent members of the Delaware Nation. Therefore the association is my own theoretical assumption, an interpretation of our data, and upon the analogy offered by other Algonkian beliefs in which the Milky Way is generally the "Spirit or Ghost Path" over which the soul of the deceased passes to the realm above. The only Delaware equivalents for Milky Way so far obtained are pe'mi-ki-ci-k'tek "across marked" or "across smoky way," and a notion that it is compared with a cowlick of hair, paxtcanhwing, "where the hair is parted," which may be discarded as far as their bearing upon the question here as concerned. This important point calls for solution.

[4] The term ka'ntika implies this figure. (See page 12).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

796 is the symbol of the function of these noble birds, helpers of man, who
778 with their wings sweep the obstacles of disease and witch-craft from
772 the path which the Delaware treads to his final destiny.[1]

[774 824] Among the many noteworthy poetical concepts of which Delaware imagination is capable is also the thought that the trees, themselves spirit-forces, are calling forth in prayer to the Creator when the wind blowing through their foliage causes a rustling, or sighing as we would say.[2]

As life proceeds on its course under the gaze of the Supreme Power through the entire universe, with his minions posted around about in their respective quarters, so the Delawares performing in the Big House gyrate in their symbolical course in the shadow of the carved images. The symbolism of the harmonized progression of the celestial and terrestrial plane-realms is consistently carried out in thought in every performance and ritual connected with the Big House. Then there are the minor symbols of force, "Grandfathers" likewise; the guardian of the game animals, represented by the Mask Spirit, the məsing'holi·'kan, the tobacco, the cedar, the wampum, the red paint, the feathers, the winds.

796 An essential point to the understanding of the Big House ceremony is that it is conducted under the sponsorship of one of the three subdivisions of the tribe.[3] And while the obligation as well as the honor of conducting the ceremony fall collectively upon the members, there is one among them who has personally assumed the religious duty involved in issuing the invitations, in appointing the officers for the different branches of service, and particularly in defraying the numerous expenses which arise in connection with bringing so many people together for a fortnight.[4] The responsibility of the occasion is voluntarily assumed by the giver, or as he is called in Delaware, təmi·'ke't', the Bringer-in." Men imbued with a desire to acquire a spiritual blessing through their religious attitude, or to recognize some blessing enjoyed, are usually the ones who answer to the inner call of duty.[5]

[1] The significance of using feathers of the nobler birds comes out in Delaware in the carrying of fans made of eagle and hawk feathers, in the wearing of feathers in the hair, and in the use of the decorated feather wand in the recently introduced Peyote ceremony. The feathers dispel evil influences from the umbrage of their wearers, the fans sweep away malevolent agencies.

[2] This passage is contained in the text of a prayer made at the opening of spring-time dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe.

[3] The three sub-divisions of the Delawares, the so-called Tortoise, Turkey, and Wolf groups, have evoked no small amount of discussion (Morgan, Brinton, Harrington). They are, however, not yet thoroughly understood. Some facts connected with these groupings are dealt with farther along, though only so far as they require mention in connection with the Big House.

[4] The informant estimated the cost of performance to be about $150.00.

[5] Since, moreover, there is the conviction that welfare of man at large rests upon the performance of the ceremony, that a world catastrophe is warded off by it, the attitude of the host is one pervaded with generous altruism. (Compare Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 136; and Harrington, I, p. 115).

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

kindred, to cause us happiness of mind when we are given all the things that grow and all which our Father the Great Spirit has so well provided. That is why it is possible for us to see this fulfilled. 539X 796

And it seemed to me that that Person right there at the edge of the south-land seemed to me to possess power over all things. And it sounded so when he started running. ho+ ho+![1]

[Repeat the chant for the ninth time.][2]

Truly indeed, my kindred, once more besides we dance around where he stands, he our Grandfather. And this will be the last time when we shall go around. And then also will everyone twelve times lift up the prayer-worship, up above where belong these adorations[3] of the people[4] to the twelfth level of the sky where dwells our Father, the Great Spirit. [772]

And thus speaking that Person said:

[Repeat the chant for the tenth time.][5]

Truly thankful, my kindred, now here we have come to where he our Grandfather stands.[6] Now the time has come for us to offer up our adoration, to lift up our prayer ten and two times to where dwells he who owns us,[7] the Great Spirit even our Creator.[8]

I am truly thankful that I bring the address of blessing, my brothers, my sisters, and these our children. I give thanks that I bring blessing, all and every kind of spiritual blessings. Truly I am very feeble myself, as it is said, it oppresses my heart when I see how now we are orphans.[9] Many times we have heard from our deceased an-

[1] When giving the prayer-call now, he touches the carved image as before.

[2] He leads the dancers around the post again to the other image, fulfilling his command to encircle the post twice.

[3] The term kwenamowa'k·an occurs here but I have given it another meaning to accord with the context.

[4] The text here might read as well, the Delawares, for, as we have learned, the tribe addresses itself as lon·a·'pe, "common people" as a proper name.

[5] He is now back again before the western-facing carved image.

[6] Meaning that the worshippers have figuratively mounted to the presence of the Great Spirit in his twelfth heaven.

[7] The conception of the Great Spirit as the owner of man, comes out similarly in Wabanaki (F. G. Speck," Wawenock Myths" 43rd Annual Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, 1928, p. 180).

[8] At this point the leader touches the carved face on the center-post and all hold up their hands. Everybody in the Big House stands up (except those too old, deformed, or nursing children), saying ho+ six times, everybody holding up the right hand, and hä+ six times. Then the drummers follow; the leading drummer hits one, second drummer one, the leading drummer the final blow on the hide-drum. This is the signal for all to sit down.

The leader now faces west, with his back to the mosi'ŋgw on the center post and directly under it. He shakes hands with his "followers" first, then with all who were in the line. Then each one goes to his respective place to be seated, observing the rule of going to the north and south sides of the Big House. They must pass westward around the two fires, following the White Path over which they have danced.

When all have seated themselves in their proper places, the Attendants put extra wood on the fires to light up the Big House. The speaker again declaims to the honor of the Creator.

[9] Referring to their bereavement through the generations of deceased ancestors.